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SEASONABLE

REMARKS
ON
TRADE.

WITH

Some Reflections on the Advantages
that might accrue to GREAT
BRITAIN, by a proper Regu-
lation of the Trade of IRELAND.

Wrote in London, but now first Publish'd
in Dublin, as a Preface to other ESSAYS
on the Trade and Manufactures of
IRELAND.

*Hippolitus obiit, quia noverca creditum est
Cassandra, quia non creditum ruit Ilium;
Ergo exploranda est veritas multum prius,
Quam stulta prave indicet Sententia.*

PHÆ

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REMARKS ON TRADE



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Governments that have depending upon them many lesser States, ought so to model their Affairs, that each may have its particular Occupation, and labour jointly with the rest for one great End : For the Wealth and Grandeur of the Whole, without incroaching upon the Business of each other, or impairing that of the Supreme Kingdom ; and if we do but

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consider our own Concerns, with any reasonable Attention we shall find that it behoves us more particularly to apply to this Management, and by regulating, and improving the Trade of our Dependencies to recover those Branches of Commerce from Strangers, which we have long been obliged to let them run away with.

Could any thing in its Appearance be more fortunate to the Trade of *England* than our Discovery of the Port of *Archangel* on the *White Sea*, and the many Encouragements which our Merchants on their first coming thither had from the Czar, to settle their Commerce with that Town: The Passage to it was incumbered with none of those Difficulties which are usually met in Voyages up the *Baltick*, and its Situation, so near the great River *Duina*, made the Commodities of the *Russian* Empire come so much cheaper to Market than



than they formerly did by *Revel* and *Narva* ; that the entire Trade of that great Country was all at once devolv'd upon us, but the indefatigable Affiduity of the *Dutch*, soon led them our way, and by underselling us in almost all the Wants of that Country, they quickly get into our Place in the Czar's Favour, and furnish'd all the rest of *Europe* with the Produce of *Russia*, so much cheaper than we could afford them, that our Trade to those Parts, fell greatly to Decay ; and would entirely be lost, had it not been for the Native Commodities of *England* and its Dependencies, which they require, and can be furnished with no way but through our Hands.

The Fisheries of *Greenland* and *Newfoundland* were first discover'd by us ; we were in the sole Possession of them, and claimed a Right to monopolize those Seas and their Pro-

duce; but the *Dutch*, the *Hambourghers* and the *French*, what by Fraud, what by Connivance, and what under Colour of Right to the open and free Seas, followed our Example, and notwithstanding the several Encouragements, which we from time to time gave, by Acts of Parliament and otherways, to the Natives of *England*, to prosecute that gainful Business; we were however so unfortunate to see it taken out of our Hands, and to be underfold by all the World, in the Produce thereof.

The Trade to the Coast of *Africk*, we were very early in the Possession of; and many Charters were granted, and at last an Act of Parliament passed for the Encouragement of those, who from time to time undertook it; but the *Dutch*, the *Hambourghers*, the *French*, and the *Danes* have incroached upon our Settlements and Trade in those Parts, and fur-

furnish all Nations of the World (which are not by their Dependance upon *England* confined to take them from us alone) with Elephants Teeth, Wax, Gumms, Dying Stuffs, Negroes, &c. cheaper than we can afford them.

We were the first of any Nation this Side the *Streights*, that traded to *Turkey*, and we had Leisure enough to establish our selves in that Commerce, for we were not followed by the *Dutch*, till about thirteen Years after, nor by the *French*, till yet a longer time, and yet their Success has been so much better than ours, that at present, all the Advantage we reap from that Business, is the saving only on the Article of our home Consumption, of Silk Manufactures ; for the *Dutch*, the *French*, and *Italians* undersel us at all foreign Markets, and leave us no room to gain by Re-exportation of *Levant* Commodities.

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Many other Instances, might be given of the great Decay of our Trade, and the Disadvantages, under which we lye, whenever we come to dispute that Point with Strangers ; but alas, what need of particular Instances ; for, in short, the *French* and *Dutch* undersel us in the Produce of any Country, to which they can resort, on the Level with us,---- But the Crown of *England* has depending upon it, several Kingdoms, Plantations and Settlements, in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Affrick*, and *America*, which abound with Commodities much sought after ; and to be had no way but through our Hands : We are stored at home with a great natural Wealth, and our home Consumption of foreign Commodities, is so defended by our Naval and Commercial Laws, that we can import for our own Use, and export our own Growth cheaper than any other People can for us : These

These Regulations confine all the Navigation to and from *England* and its Dependencies to our own Hands, furnish our Shipping with constant Imployment, and make our Navigation seem to flourish ; but whenever we dip into any Branch of Trade that can be undertaken on the Level with us by other Countries, we are always unsuccessful ; and this is a sure Symptom of some lurking Disease which may in time bring on the Dissolution even of that Trade which is left us ; it is therefore high time to enquire what the Cause hereof may be, that we may apply such Remedies, as may be most likely to remove it.

Every Country, and every individual of a Country will always buy their Necessaries from those, who afford them the Best and the Cheapest ; so that whatever People can sell the best Penny-worths at foreign
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Markets, must necessarily engross to themselves, all those Branches of Trade, which they are so enabled to maintain : But the several Exigencies of our State (arising from a general Benevolence to Mankind, which could not let us sit tamely by, whilst the Liberty of our Neighbours was invaded) have from time to time called out for greater Sums of Money than our Parliaments were willing, or perhaps able, to give within the Year : This brought about Loans and Debts, and these Taxes upon all the Consumption of the People, whereby they were laid under a Necessity to exact greater Prices for Art and Labour, in order to purchase for themselves the Necessaries of Life, enhanced as they were by Taxes ; and this sudden Raise in the Price of Art and Labour has made the working up of all our Manufactures, vastly more

more expensive than those of any other Country in *Europe*.

There are several Accidents which indear a Commodity to the Merchant, besides the first Cost thereof; every Alteration of the *Primum*, is at the Expence of Art and Labour: Every Removal thereof from Place to Place is at the same Expence, and these travel with the Commodity through all it's Modifications and Voyages, till they light at last upon the Consumer.

But the Wealth and Luxury of some Countries, and the Poverty or Frugality of others, render the Means of these Alterations and Removals different in Value; where the Necessaries of Life are cheap, there also will Labour and Art be cheap, and where they are dear there also will Labour and Art be dear; for the Artizans and the Labourers must every where have so much for
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their Hire as will maintain them; wherefore when a dear and a cheap working People undertake each of them the same Business, the Manufactures of the one go to Market clogged with a less Expence than those of the other; and can therefore be afforded at a less Price, and this is the Reason why *Holland, France, and Italy*, importing raw Silks from the *Indies*, and from *Turkey*, can undersell us in the Manufactures thereof, tho' the first Cost of the *Primum* was the same to all.

But there are several Branches of Trade that depend upon buying the Manufactures and Growth of one Country, to sell the same in the same Form to another; these suffer no Alterations, and yet tho' we buy them in the Place of their Growth and Production on a Level with the *Dutch*, &c. yet they can afford them cheaper in any Part of the World

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(*England* and its Dependencies excepted, where they are incumbered by the Navigation Act, &c.) than we : Here the Carriage of the Goods is the only thing that intervenes between the Purchase and the Sale ; wherefore we may reasonably conclude, that our chief Disadvantage in this Business must lye in the Navigation, and this will more plainly appear if we consider the Nature of Navigation it self, and the Means by which it is executed.

In the first Place, a Ship consists of many different Materials, some of which are of our own Growth, and some not, but they are all of them however to be purchased by the particular Trader, and his first Cost, whether dear or cheap, travels with the Ship a Weight upon all Commodities, exported or imported in her : In the second Place, all these *Primums* of Navigation must

be wrought up, and put together by the Craft and Labour of Men, which differ in Value according to the Country wherein the Work is executed, and according to the Assiduity and Application of those employed in it; insomuch that where Labour is dear, and where the Luxury of the People renders them indolent and slow to work, the building and fitting out of a Ship must necessarily require a greater Sum of Money, than it would in a Country where either the Poverty or Frugality of the Inhabitants inure them from their Infancy, to bear the Toil and Fatigue of the Day upon slender Fare; and this Difference of Expence is another Burthen upon the Ship, and the Goods carried in her; but when all this is done, there must be provided Victualing for the Voyage, and Sailors to navigate the Vessel; and this creates another

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Expenſe, differing alſo according to the Dearneſs or Cheapneſs of the Place where the Ship is Victualed and Mann'd, and according as the People are more or leſs accuſtomed to Labour, and hard Fare; and this Difference alſo attends her in all the Voyages ſhe performs, and is a Clog upon all Merchandizes carried in her; nor do they only affect thoſe ordinarily traded withal, but even the *Primums* of our Navigation themſelves, ſuch of them eſpecially as we are obliged to import, either from our own Dependencies or from foreign Countries, and this being the Nature of Navigation, it follows, that as it is in a particular Manner influenced by the Price of Labour and Art, ſo it muſt be greatly dearer to us, whoſe Induſtry is incumbered with ſo many Difficulties, than to our Neighbours who are ſo much eaſier in their Circumſtances.

I have read (indeed) with a particular Attention Mr. E---n's View of the *Greenland Trade*, and I'm sorry that I can't submit to the Arguments which he advances to prove that we may still on our own Bottoms recover that Trade from the *Dutch*: They are to this Effect----

“ All the *Primmis* of Navigation
 “ we have either within our own
 “ Country, or from our Plantations;
 “ so that the Money payable
 “ for them is only a Commutation
 “ amongst our selves, and no Drain
 “ upon the Nation, but the *Dutch*
 “ (having none of their own) are
 “ forc'd to send out Value for them,
 “ therefore we navigate cheaper than
 “ the *Dutch*; and the Navigation
 “ being the principal Expence of
 “ that Business, there is no Reason
 “ to fear but we may with proper
 “ Encouragements recover it from
 “ them.

’Tis

'Tis true that *England* can have either within it self, or from its Dependencies most of the necessary Materials, for Ship-building, and 'tis true that on that Account, we can fit out one or more Vessels, at less Expence of Treasure to the Publick, than *Holland*; but this is a very inconsiderable (if any Ease at all) to that Part of our Navigation which has Respect to Trade; for by Navigation, in that Sense, is understood the Carriage of Goods only from one Place to another, and that too, as it is dearer or cheaper, for tis this that influences the Sale of Commodities so carried: The Savings of the Publick are of no Account to the particular Builder, but inso much as he is benefitted by them: He must pay for the Growth of *England* and its Dependencies as well as for those of foreign Countries: 'Tis what he alone is out of Pocket for either that will

will always be his Direction in the Freight of his Vessel, and he must get the Interest of his Money, the Expence of the Voyage, and a reasonable Ware and Tare, or he will be a loser, let the Ship be built of home produced Materials or not, so likewise must the Merchant consider the Expence of his Freight in the Sale of his Goods, and not the National Loss or Gain in the Building of the Ship : 'Tis that he must provide for over and above his first Cost the Interest of his Money, and a reasonable Profit, and so much as it stands him in more than the *Dutch* Merchant, so much must he sell dearer than the *Dutch* Merchant, to gain only as much by the Sale as the other ; wherefore if the *Dutch* can import from Abroad all the Materials of Navigation, cheaper than we can procure them at Home, they will be able to let out their Ships
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to Freight, so much cheaper than we can ours, and consequently all Goods carried on Board their Ships, tho' bought at the same first Cost, with these carried in our Bottoms, may be afforded at foreign Markets so much cheaper than ours, as the Expence of Carriage is less; and this Difference in the Navigation (that is the Carriage of Goods) is that which gives them the Advantage of us in all those Branches of Trade which they can undertake on the Level with us.

This is indeed a very great Misfortune, but however, whilst the *Dutch* are a more laborious and frugal People, whilst they can live upon cheaper Fare, and work harder, whilst their Interest-money is lower, and whilst the Consumption of their labouring People is less loaded with Taxes than ours, so long will it continue, and so long will they be our

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Rivals in Trade ; unless some other People rise up, cheaper to feed and more hardy to work, freer from Taxes and more favoured by the Interest of Money, than they ; but whensoever that happens in *Europe*, the States of *Holland*, who from poor Fisher-men have extended their Trade over all the Ocean, and unto all the Kingdoms of the Earth, must tumble down, and we shall no longer suffer those Rivals in Trade, who have more than once disputed with us the Empire of the Sea.

The Ballance of Trade is as variable as the Ballance of Power, and has as often shifted Sides : There have been as many universal Empires (if I may so call them) established upon the Ocean as upon the Land ; but like those they have fallen to Decay, and given Place to others ; for as Industry begets Trade and Wealth, so whenever the Minds of a People

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are unbent by excessive Riches into Indolence and Luxury, and the Price of their Labour and Navigation is thereby rendered dearer, than that of their Neighbours, they soon see their Grandeur moulder away, and their slow acquired Riches, depart with hasty Strides to their rising Successors ; these by indefatigable Labour and Industry, by the Parsimony of Particulars, and the OEconomy and good Government of the State for a while hold the Dominion of the Seas, till the same Distemper brings upon them the same Fate, and they also give away to others.

Such has been the fickle Temper of Trade since her first Appearance in the World under the *Phenicians*, to her present Settlement amongst the *Dutch* ; these indeed have extended her Dominion farther than any of their Predecessors, but they seem at present not far from that fatal Period,

when they in their Turn must yield to others that Province, which they with so rapid a Course have overrun, and so long ingross'd to themselves ; but who the fortunate Successor is likely to be, is not much inquired, tho' the Search might well deserve our Pains, since, if we pursue Trade through all the various Turns which it has already taken, we shall always behold it rendring Great and Considerable those People, who before it smiled upon them were weak and unnoticed amongst us, but striking Terror into the rest of the World, whenever it added it self to a State already Great and Powerful.

Trade, which through the perpetual Wars and Calamities that attended the Dissolution of the *Roman Empire* was almost lost in the World, begun to revive again amongst the *Italians* in the 11th Century, and de-
vided,

vided, as they were, into several petty Principalities and Commonwealths, we shall find them however grow very Considerable in general, from their Acquisitions by Trade, and courted by the Contenders for Empire; tho' they themselves were in no Capacity by reason of their inward Divisions, and the little native Power which they respectively possessed to invade the General Liberty.

In the 12th Century another trading People began to appear in the World, by the Name of *Oesterlings*, these were the Inhabitants of several little Maritime Towns in *Germany*, who to defend themselves against the frequent Pyracies, with which the *Northern Seas* were then infested, associated themselves together, and in that Situation, became so Considerable, that they continued to the latter End of the 15th Century the sole Arbiters of Peace and War in the
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[North] and were indeed greatly considered by all the Princes of Europe; tho' their remote Situation, and their divided Interests, rendered them but little Formidable however to the Liberty of the World. yd bsrhoo bns

But about the latter End of the 15th Century the Trade of the Universe suffered a greater Revolution, than perhaps it ever did before, and that Part thereof which was added to the Power of Spain, made all Europe tremble, the Portuguese having found out a Way to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good-hope, made Lisbon the Staple of all those Eastern Commodities which the hither World was formerly supplied with, through the Ports of the *Mediterranean*. The new World was discovered by the Spaniards under Ferdinand; and Gold and Silver (which till then was only to be acquired by long and painful Applications to Industry) came in Ship-

Ship-loads from the conquered Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* into *Spain*, and in the Year 1500 the *Hanse* through excessive Riches and an unfortunate Division amongst themselves, gave the *English* and *Dutch* an Opportunity to furnish the World with those Commodities, which before came only through their Hands; and here it mayn't be amiss to observe, that so sudden was their Fall, who for upwards of 200 Years ingrossed to themselves almost all the Trade of the World, that in 1506 they had scarce any Business at all: A surprising Instance of the speedy Departure of Trade from those who have once passed the Summit of good Fortune.

So considerable an Addition as was made to the Power of *Spain* by the Trade of the Galleons to *America*, changed the Face of Affairs in *Europe*;

Europe; for *Charles* with all those Treasures at Command, could not fail of his Election to the *German* Empire; by which he was all at once made an Over-balance for the rest of *Europe*; and had not so many things conspired to rescue Mankind from such an imoderate Growth of Power, it is much to be doubted whether all those Alliances which were formed against him by his war-like Contemporaries could ever have kept him within Bounds.

Spain by the Expulsion of the *Moors* and *Jews* after a long Succession of intestine Wars, was in a Manner exhausted of People; its Conquests in *America* were a perpetual Drain upon the Few that were left, and the excessive Plenty of Money, which all at once devolv'd upon them (for Trade begun with *Spain*, where it ends with others) occasioned such an intire Disuse of
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Industry and Manufacture; that they were quickly under a Necessity to send out the Wealth of the *Indies* as fast as it came in: All the Dominions of *Spain* were but newly acquired, and the unweildly Fa-
 brick had not time to consolidate or cement it self together, before it was on all Sides attack'd. The *Spaniards* and *Flemmings* were jealous of each other, and the *Germans* of them both, which made it for a while Work sufficient for *Charles* the 5th to reconcile the jarring Interests of his several Dominions: but before that could be done, the uneasy Jealousy of his Subjects obliged him to have his Brother *Ferdinand* elected King of the *Romans*, and that Intitling him to the Succession of the Empire, devided the Power of *Spain* before it was able to exert it self against her Neighbours.

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To *Philip* the Second descended (together with *Spain*) the *Belgick* Provinces, the Principalities in *Italy*, and the Kingdoms in *America*, to which he added that of *Portugal*, a Place at that Time very Considerable for Trade, but the same fundamental Evils still lurked within the Body of *Spain*, its want of People became a more sensible Misfortune by the Loss of *Germany*, which before in some Measure supply'd that Defect, a universal Disuse of Industry required still an Expence of most Part of that Treasure which was brought in by Trade : The Support of the League in *France* was a great Drain upon what remained ; the Defection of the *Belgick* Provinces, through the Severities of the Duke of *Alva*, put its Affairs into Confusion ; and the intire Defeat of the invincible *Armada* (which not only took up the ready

dy Money of *Spain*, but run the State also into Debts, from which they have not been able, even to this Day, to extricate themselves) gave the finishing Stroke to its Power. All these complicated Misfortunes of State (I say) were Cause sufficient why *Spain* in those two Reigns, wherein their Power seemed at so high a Pitch, by the Accession of Trade to their Possessions by Land, did however, so little incroach upon the Liberty of her Neighbours.

The Defection of the *Belgick* Provinces ended in the States of *Holland*. These Children of Oppression (if I may so call them) being, under the severest Penalties, forbid any Commerce with *Spain* or *Portugal* (from whence they hitherto had all those Commodities of both the *Indies*, with which they furnish'd the rest of the World) open'd

for themselves a Way to the Place of their Growth; and the *Portugues* after their Union with *Spain* (being lost as it were) in so great a Kingdom (and no longer a People) forgot their former Spirit and Resolution, and made so poor a Resistance, that before they recovered their Liberties in the Reign of *Philip* the Third, the *Dutch* had possessed themselves of most of their Settlements in both the *Indies*, and upon the Coast of *Affrick*.

'Tis true, the *Dutch* had in their Infancy several Difficulties to wrestle with, but on the other Hand, so many things conspired to encrease their Power and Riches, that in a short Time they surmounted them all: The Misfortunes of *Portugal*, the Severity of the Inquisition throughout all the Dominions of *Spain*, the Persecution in *France*, and the Troubles in *England*, made *Holland*

land (as it were) an Asylum for all the trading and rich People of *Europe* ; thither they resorted with their Wealth and their Families, so that in a short time, *Amsterdam* became what *Lisbon*, *Bruges* and *Antwerp* formerly were, the chief Staple of all the Trade of *Europe* : They proceeded intent upon Trade only ; engaged in no Wars this Side of the World, but such as were necessary for their Preservation, and even those within their own Country, which were therefore to them, rather an Inlet than a Drain of Treasure ; they kept the Consumption of their Poor free from exorbitant Taxes, at a Time when most of their Neighbours were under heavy Debts, and by this Means continued the Price of Labour at a moderate Pitch ; OEconomy and Temperance were the usual Recommendations to Places of Trust and Power
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in the State, this begot a universal Parsimony amongst the People, and suspended for a Season the Evils of an excessive Riches, which their Neighbours already began to feel in an encreasing Luxury and Profusion ; all these Accidents and prudent Councils (I say) have advanced them to a higher Station in Trade, than any other People, and (little as their Country is) if they have not extended their Dominions in *Europe*, it seems to be not from any want of Power, but from a Defect in their Constitution, which is fitted rather for Preservation than Conquest, since one negative Voice (a thing not hard to be purchased amongst a People, who are rather studious of Wealth than of Glory) is able to overthrow the best concerted and the most prosperous Enterprize.

But the Parsimony, and other domestick Virtues of the *Dutch*, by which

which they were so long enabled to transact almost all the Trade of the World, have within a few Years greatly given Way to Expence and Figure, they have already a Taste for elegant Living, and sumptuous Equipages, and they can indulge themselves in Riot and Luxury, without becoming odious to their fellow Citizens; but whenever they arrive to such a Pitch, that OEconomy and Temperance shall no longer be the necessary Recommendations to Places of Power and Confidence in the State, when the Ambitious in the Common-wealth have found out the more agreeable Way to Popularity, by Expence and Profusion, and when the People begin to taste the Sweets of such Engagements, the States of *Holland* (perhaps in as short a Time as the *Hanſtowns*) will cease to be High and Mighty; their Power at Sea will de-
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volve upon some other People, and they may chance to be reduced to their primitive Fishing-boats again.

The Symtoms of this Decay are already upon them ; it is therefore highly proper for us to think of Means whereby to prevent so great an Addition as their loss of Trade wou'd make to the Strength of any other State already Considerable in *Europe*, least such a Union of Power and Riches might in time prove dangerous, not to ours alone, but to the Liberty of the World in general.

'Tis plain, that upon our own Bottoms, we are unequal to the Undertaking ; our Condition is already what that of *Holland* is about to be, our Luxury devours more than our Industry can provide ; and the Expence of our Manufactures is greater than any Price which we can expect for the Produce of them Abroad !

broad ! but as melancholy a Reflection as this seems to be, it is however no small Comfort to think that we have it still in our Power, by a prudent Regulation of our Dependencies, to supply all these inward Defects, and to recover from Strangers a great Part of the general Commerce, with the Hands of those whose ev'ry Acquisition by Trade and Industry must always flow in upon us, to feed and supply us with Money.

The Crown of *England* has annex'd to it many Dependencies, where Labour is cheaper, the People hardier, easier to feed, and freer from Taxes, than any of our Neighbours ; these like so many Sponges (if I may be allowed the Comparison) must be employed to suck up Treasures from the Ocean in Order to squeeze them out again into the grand Receptacle of all the Riches of her Dependencies, *Great Britain.*

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These must, I say, be employed to manage those Branches of Trade, which we, by reason of an immense Wealth, an encreasing Luxury, and an over-bearing Debt, are at present under a Necessity to let Strangers run away with.

Our Plantations in *America* are very Considerable, as well for their Extent and the Numbers of People already settled there, as for the great natural Wealth which they produce. Labour is there universally cheap ; and all the Materials of Navigation at the easiest Rates ; so that there is not in the World a Place better adapted for Ship-buiding, which however is the only Article of the Plantation Business unprovided for. If therefore the Importation of Ships from thence (if I may be allowed the Expression) were encouraged, it wou'd ease our Navigation of a very great Burthen, and very much assist
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our Trade ; for there is no Dispute, but as the *Primums* of Navigation are there to be had in a manner for taking, so they might be put together much cheaper than they can in *England* ; and when a Vessel is once fitted out, the Ingredients of which it is composed, and which come at present to us, incumbred with the Expence of a long and dangerous Voyage, a costly Freight, &c. would then become cheaper in the Passage, and might be afforded in *England* at a lower Price, by so much as it had defray'd the Expence of the Building by the Freight of Goods carried in her ; but when this is said the Plantation Trade is capable of very little other Improvement, for their remote Situation, and the Abundance of Employment with which the People are already, in a manner, overcharged, and from which, it is by no means our Interest to divert them, renders

them unfit for so extended a Trade as they were to be wished capable of.

Scotland by its Union with *England*, enjoys already all the Advantages of a free Trade ; but the Barrenness of the Soil, and the Want of Communication between the inland and maritime Countries, through the almost inaccessible Mountains, which detain the Growth and Manufactures of the Country from Exportation, and the Commodities brought in by Trade, from a proper Distribution amongst the working People, leave us but little Room to hope for any great Assistance from thence : But *Ireland* is under none of these Inconveniencies, its Situation for an extended Trade is more Advantageous than that of any other Nation in *Europe* ; its Harbours are many and commodious, its Inhabitants numerous and hardy, inur'd to Want and Labour, easy to feed, and able up-
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on poor Fare to run through a great deal of Work : All the Necessaries of Life are in that Country at lower Prices than they are in any other this Side the Globe ; the People are incumbred with very few Taxes, and their Labour is cheaper than that of any of their Neighbours : Their near Situation renders the Inter-course between us very easy, and enables us to protect their Trade, and to take such Care of our Interest there as would almost be impossible, had they been more remote. The Politeness, the Gayety, and the Power of our Court allure all those who are studious, either of Improvement, of Pleasure, or of Preferment ; this drains from thence the Penny-rents of most of the great Estate of that Kingdom, and every Increase of their Wealth will (by enlarging the Rent-rouls of those already settled here, and by enabling others

others to taste the Delights of a Court, who by the Narrowness of their present Fortunes are confined at home) greatly enlarge this Inlet of their Money, and increase our Drafts upon them; which together with the Restrictions on the Exportation of their Wooll, and the other Advantages which we already have of them in Trade, will cause to center in *England*, all or the most Part of their Acquisitions on the general Balance.

I am sensible that the Proposition which I here advance, is a very bold one, as it is so opposite to the universally received Opinion, that it were better for *England* if *Ireland* were no more, but if we consider (apart from Prejudices and particular Interests) how greatly we are already Gainers by the Trade and Industry of that Country, poor as it is, we shall perhaps give into a Notion so greatly

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exploded, and begin to think, that the Wealth and Prosperity of *Ireland* is not only compatible with that of *England*, but highly conducing also to its Riches, Grandeur and Power.

Sir *Will. Petty* (the most ingenious Observer of the last Age) in his political Anatomy of *Ireland*, computes that at the Time when the Landlords Rent of the whole Kingdom was but 432,000 *l. per Ann.* there was remitted Yearly for the Support of Outliers in *England* 200,000 *l. Sterl.* and this Article alone was lately, and I believe very justly estimated in a Book, called the Defence of the Conduct of *Ireland*, at 600,000 *l. per Ann.* but we had also (when Sir *Will.* made his Calculation) almost the entire Trade of that Country in our Hands, we took of all their Commodities, and imported to them all or most of their

their foreign Consumption, so that it is more than probable that we had even then coming to us out of that Country one way or another a Sum equal to the Landlords Rent of the whole ; at present indeed they begin to manage their own Trade, and well for us it is that they do so, for else the *Dutch* and the *French* (who navigate so much cheaper than we) wou'd do it for them, and by draining away their Wealth wou'd leave the less thereof to Issue to us ; but however, it is more than probable, that they annually send us at present,

For Coals,	100,000
For Corn,	080,000
For Broad Cloaths, <i>East-India</i> Goods, and Mercers	} 250,000
Wares, Hops, Toys, &c.	

	430,000
	Brought

Brought over 430,000
 We have all their Wooll
 raw and unmanufactured,
 which as appears by the
 Register thereof at the
 Custom-House, for the
 Year ending *Midsummer*
 1723, amounts to (Yarn
 included 271291 Stone,
 which because of the Mo-
 nopol. thereof we buy in
Ireland at 6 s. per Stone, in 7750,000
 all 81382—first Cost;
 this by the Art and Labour
 of *Englishmen* is converted
 into Cloaths, Kerfies,
 Stuffs, and other Manu-
 factures, and by a rea-
 sonable Computation is a
 Means of saving or gain-
 ing annually over and a-
 bove the first Cost

By the Expence of *Irish* Outliers amongst us } 600,000
 as per Estimate }
 So that we are Gainers or Savers by our Deal- }
 ings with that Country per Ann. about } 1780,000

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And

And if the Gain of *England* on the general Ballance of her Trade with all the World, is no more than two Millions yearly, as is computed by the ingenious Doctor *Davenant* and others, how should we have been able to furnish our selves with Matter for such an Excess of Luxury and Profusion as we have lately known, and at the same time to have maintained such long and expensive foreign Wars, without suffering the utmost Poverty, had not the Wealth which that Country is a Means of bringing us from time to time, fed and supported us with Money.

It is an infallible Maxim, that by what Means soever Money is brought into a Country, it is equal to the People in general, so it be not in a Way injurious to their Liberties: It imports us but little, whether the Money of *Ireland* comes to us, through

through the Hands of Merchants, or through the Hands of Exchangers; they indeed, by whose Hands it comes, are likely to have some on't stick to their Fingers, and it is therefore the Interest of each of them to have it come their Way; but when once it is introduced, whether by Trade, or by Exchange, it becomes equally the Property and Wealth of the Nation in general.

True it is, that particular Persons, and Societies, may be affected by the Success of *Ireland* in Trade, but if *England* in general is Gainer thereby, it wou'd be a thing of fatal Consequence to be led by their Insinuations into such Councils as might cramp it in those Branches of Trade, which do not clash with our own.

Every particular Member of a Society has (no doubt) an Interest in the Grandeur and Prosperity of the whole; but yet every particular

Member has at the same time another Interest separate from that, which he pursues with a more ardent Inclination, and that is his own private Interest.

It is his Business to promote the Power and Riches of the Commonwealth, but it imports him much more, however, to add to his own private Fortune and Degree in the State ; and for that Reason, whenever these two Interests clash one with another (as it too often happens) the particular Members, with a perfect Tranquillity, reap the Fruit of publick Mismanagements ; or very unwillingly, and with great Murmurs suffer any Loss of their private Business, how necessary soever it may be for the Health and Welfare of their Country ; and this perhaps is one great Reason of the general Outcry against the Trade and Wealth of *Ireland*, with
which

which our Ears are of late filled, but to reconcile these Interests, and to take care, that whenever they clash or jarr one with the other, the Good of the whole shall always be pursued, at whatever Expence or Loss of particular Persons or Societies, is the Business of the Legislature, which in our happy Constitution is the Representative, not of a Part, but of the entire Common-wealth, and must therefore consider the general Good of the Nation, before that of Particulars.

It is true, that even in Parliaments, every Member may be supposed to labour with a more particular Assiduity, the Advantage and Immolument of that Corporation which sent him ; but every other Member does the same ; and this Distraction of Affairs (as I may call it) brings the Matter quickly to an Issue, and by the Majority of Voices de-

determines which is the Common Good: But it sometimes however happens, that the Designs of particular Societies are so gilt and varnished over with specious Pretences and Insinuations, that it is almost impossible to distinguish the real from the fictitious Good, and they are led into Mistakes; for alas, nothing but the divine Omniscience can trace the Designs of wicked Men, through all their Mazes and Windings: Amongst the Children of Men there is no Infalibility; and the greatest and wisest Assemblies may err in their Determinations of what is, and what is not the Publick Good: It might be instanced in many Particulars, but I shall only mention one, which has respect to our Trade with *Ireland*, and which occasion'd no small Loss to us, I mean that which forbid the Importation of *Irish* Beef.

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Before the Restoration we were in the sole Possession of the Beef Trade, all foreign Markets were through our Hands furnished with that Commodity, and those depending upon it, which being bulky Commodities afforded no small Occupation to Ships and Sailors, and no inconsiderable Profit to the Nation in general, on the Articles of Trade and Navigation, but the *Irish* Beef which was the principal Support of that gainful Business was afforded so cheap, by reason of the Poverty of that Country, that our Graziers apprehended it would in sometime oblige them to lower their Prices here, and made that a Pretence to call to their Landlords for an Abatement of their Rent: The Interest of the Landed Men is without doubt the surest Test of the Publick Good; could any thing be more artificially devised in that tender

tender Part, the Graziers attacked them, and by specious Arguments, pretended to demonstrate, that if the Importation of Beef from a Country wherein Land was so much cheaper than ours was suffered, it would lower the Price of *English* Beef: This would affect the Lands that reared and fed them, and by that means all the Lands of *England* would be in some time reduced to a Level, or at least to some Proportion with the Lands in *Ireland*: The Argument seemed feasible, and the Prohibition passed: But what was the Consequence? the *Irish* clogged with a Commodity for which they lost the only Vent that they hitherto knew, were laid under a Necessity to look out elsewhere for a Market; and we found them more dangerous Rivals abroad than at home, they undersold us everywhere, and nothing was left to support us in any

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Part of that Trade, which was so lately all in our own Hands; but the particular Excellency of our Beef, above all others, from their rich Pasture, and the extraordinary Feeding which we bestowed on them, Advantages which without a Prohibition, would ever have intitled our Graziers to higher Prices than any others.

Thus from the sole Dealers in Beef, Butter, Tallow and Hides (for which Commodities, we could as the *Dutch* do for their Spices, fix a Price at Will) we all at once abdicated that advantageous Situation, deprived our selves of all the Gain thereon from Trade and Navigation, and become poor Sharrers therein with another Country; and all this by suffering our selves to be led by the Insinuations of a particular Society; whereas, if we did but look beyond the Surface of the Argument, we should find, that by

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what Means soever the publick Treasure is encreased or exhausted, by that same Means the Rents of Lands will always rise or fall, and if we did but coolly consider how much more Wealth must necessarily be introduced by the whole Beef Trade than by a Part of it, we should never be prevailed upon to lend a helping Hand to that Prohibition, which we then so earnestly solicited for.

I should be glad to know with what Face a Petition from the Shepherds of *England*, to prohibit the Importation of *Irish* Wooll, would at this Day be received in our Parliament ; it is certain that it would greatly raise the Price of that produced here ; and the same Arguments might be framed for it, that were made use of to procure the Prohibition of Beef, but I am sure a very indifferent Politician might however see, that the Gain of that particular

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Society could in no Measure compensate the Injury it would do to our Woollen Trade, and to the Nation in general.

The Views of a trading People should extend themselves far into Futurity, for there are many things which carry an Appearance of an immediate Gain, and are nevertheless highly detrimental in the End ; and there are also many others, which at first seem dangerous to the Wealth of a Country, that in Process of Time, bring to it great Power and Riches : The Husbandman considered in *Spring*, casting his choicest Grain into the Furrows, would undoubtedly seem mad, if we looked no further ; but if we consider him in the *Harvest*, reaping the bountiful Reward of his Profusion, how wise will he seem in foregoing a Part of his present Hord for so agreeable a Prospect in Futurity. The End is

the surest Proof of the Wisdom or Folly of our Actions, 'tis that which gives the sincerest Character of our Councils and Deliberations, and 'tis that alone that ought to be considered by a wise People.

Particular Societies tempted by a near Prospect of Gain, are too apt to lay Schemes for aggrandising and enriching themselves at the Expence of the Publick; but alas, it is better even for them in the End, that the general Welfare should be pursued, for tho' they may thrive for a Season on the Misfortunes of the Commonwealth, yet whenever its Vitals are touched, a livid Paleness, and a general Decay spreads it self over all the Members, and they too late repent themselves of those self-interested Councils, which brought on its Ruin: Let us therefore, apart from particular Interests or Prejudices, consider the Question before us, and we shall

shall find, that the Wealth of *Ireland* has for many Years flowed in upon us, and that the Method to encrease that Inlet of Treasure, is to put it in a Way of getting more; a Way, I say, that without incroaching upon our own Business will encrease its Riches; for *Ireland* is to *England* (if I may be allowed the Comparison) a milch Cow, if we let it run into good Pasture it will overflow our Pails, but if we deny it that, and leave it to starve in barren Grounds, it will quickly run dry, and become rather a Burthen than a Help to us.

But some are of Opinion, that the Parliament of *Ireland* has of late shewn such a sturdy Spirit, that it won't be safe to make any Accession to their Wealth, lest they should in Time be able to shake off their Dependency upon the Crown of *England*. This seems to be a very material

rial Objection, and it may not therefore be improper, before we proceed any farther, to enquire a little into that, and into the Interest of the People themselves in respect thereto.

The Landed Interest of *Ireland* has suffered very considerable Revolutions since Queen *Elizabeth's* Time. In the Beginning of King *James* the First's Reign, there was a very great Change of Property in that Kingdom, for that Prince led either by Policy or Affection, attainted several unfortunate People, whom his own Artifices and Emisaries are said to have stirred up to a Rebellion in the preceding Reign, and gave all at once the entire Province of the *North* to his own Countrymen; but how injurious soever this at first appeared, it was in the End highly advantageous to the Country in general, for the industrious *Scotch Protestants* who succeeded the lazy *Irish*, introducing
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Labour and Industry into that Kingdom, laid the Foundation of the Linnen Manufacture, which is at this Time their chiefest Wealth, and made that Province, which was before, the coursest and thinnest inhabited in the whole Kingdom, equal to any two of the rest in Numbers of Men, in the Acquisition of national Wealth, and in the Beauty of Land Improvements.

The next great Change was in *Oliver Cromwell's* Time, where the *Irish* taking Advantage of our Commotions in *England*, under Pretence of assisting the King, took up Arms, but with that bad Success, that notwithstanding the Numbers of honest *Englishmen* who were settled there, and who assisted them with sincere Intentions to restore the King's Affairs; they were intirely routed, their Towns taken and sack'd, their Women and Children put to the Sword,

Sword, their Estates given to *English Protestants*, and Multitudes of those who escaped the Fury of the War, and the Rage of the Pestilence (Evils which Sir *William Petty* computes to have wasted upwards of 500,000 Souls) were transported into foreign Countries, so that in 1652, most Part of the whole Kingdom was in *English* Hands, and tho' a considerable Number of Acres were after the Restoration given back to those who proved their constant good Affections, &c. yet there remained in the Hands of the *English* and the *Scotts*, in the Year 1672, upwards of 3,220,000 Acres, and in the Hands of the *Irish* not above 2,280,000 Acres.

But the last and most remarkable Change of all, was upon the late Revolution; for King *James* the Second, having an Inclination to strengthen himself by the Affections of the *Irish*;

Irish, encouraged and passed a certain Act in that Parliament, repeating all former Forfeitures, and restoring to the Proprietors the Lands which were taken from them in 41, &c. under Colour of which Law, all the old *Irish* who could make out any Title to the Lands of *English*, entered upon them, and turned the Owners out of Doors; this occasioned an universal Confusion and Distress of Affairs in *English* Families, till King *William* after settling Affairs in *England* went in Person thither, and in less than three Years reduced that Kingdom to an entire Obedience, the Act of Repeal lost its Force, the dispersed *English* returned in Peace to their Habitations, and the Estates of all those who were concerned in the Rebellion were forfeited and sold, so that this Day, there is scarcely
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any Land in *Ireland* held by any other than an *English* Title ; and how is it then possible to imagin, that a People who derive all their Titles from their Dependence upon the Crown of *England*, should ever be so mad as to attempt or even to suffer any thing that might impair that Dependence, which is their only Charter for all the Power and Possessions which they have in *Ireland*.

If we consider the Conduct of that People, since the Revolution, we shall find that we have no Grounds for such a Jealousy of them, and we shall be convinced, that nothing but the cruellest Acts of Oppression from us, and in them the extreamest Madness of Despair, can ever precipitate them into such pernicious Councils, for could there be in Appearance, a greater Hardship

ship upon them, than by Laws made in a Parliament, wherein they had no Representative, to be restrained from exporting any Manufactures of Wooll (the most abounding and precious of all their Commodities) to any Part of the World, and from exporting the Wooll it self, raw and unmanufactured, to any Place but *England*? A Regulation which laid them under a Necessity to gain nothing on that Article of their Growth from Labour and Industry, and to become only Shepherds to us; and yet they have submitted thereto, with such an uncommon Resignation, that no one Person has in so many Years been convicted, or even accused of a Transgression; they acquiesce under our Laws, in Favour of the *East-India* Company, which confine them to *England* alone, for several Com-

modities of the *East*, they perform the Requisites of all our naval and commercial Laws, perhaps better than we our selves do, they have seen the Judicature of their House of Lords taken away, without any other Opposition, than an humble Remonstrance to his Majesty to interpose in their Favour; they furnish their Quota's with Chearfulness and Alacrity, and are ever foremost in Zeal for the *Protestant* Succession, as may be instanced in their unlimited Vote of Credit to his late Majesty, when threatened by several Insurrections in *Great Britain*, and by the high Prices which they offered for the Heads of his Enemies. They see their intire Church-livings, and all the civil and military Government of the Kingdom given from them, to such of us as either in Church
or

or State have deserved well of the Crown; and if these People have lifted up their Hands, not to resist, but petition against a Project, whose dismal Effects had so lately thrown all *England* and *France* into the utmost Confusion and Distress, if they have addressed and made Remonstrances against a Patent, which contained in it self no coercive Clause, and which was judged by them pernicious to their Business. Must we from these two Circumstances conclude against a Thousand, that they would if they had Power shake off their Dependence upon us?

Since then *Ireland* is secured to us by the strongest Tyes of Interest and Necessity, since ev'ry Addition to the Wealth of its Inhabitants will, by enlarging their Stakes, confirm the Tyes of their
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Dependence upon us, and at the same Time enlarge the Remittances of their Money to *England*, since every Acquisition which they make by Trade is at last to center amongst us, and since it is evident, that without imploying them, we can never recover the Trade which we have lost, what should hinder us from making the proper Use of them, and setting them up as Instruments to encrease our Wealth, and to prevent the Rise of any others, to whom the Trade of the Universe might prove a fatal Accession of Power, much to be dreaded by the rest of the World, tho' more immediately by these Kingdoms, whose chief Defence has ever been the Dominion of the Sea. The Means which I shall propose to bring this about are but few, and such too as in no Manner

ner clash with our own Affairs;
viz.

First, To encourage the Reduction of Interest Money in that Kingdom to a Level, or at least to some Proportion, with that in *France* and *Holland*, that as little thereof as possible may remain a Load upon their Industry and Navigation, and a Cancer in the Bowels of their Commerce, to eat up all their other Advantages.

Secondly, To ease their Importation of naval Stores from *Scotland*, or the Plantations, by taking off them all Manner of Duties, and by allowing those of the Plantations to be directly imported from thence without touching in *England*, that the building of Ships there may be incumbred with as small an Expence

pençe as possible; and that they may be in that Article enabled to undersel Foreigners; for it is surely better for us to have the carrying Trade in the Hands of a People who are our Subjects, and whose every Acquisition by Trade flows in daily upon us, to encrease our Wealth and Power, than to let it remain in the Hands of those whose every Acquisition by Trade helps to turn the Ballance against us, and to make us less Considerable in *Europe*.

Thirdly, To open to them the Fisheries of *Greenland* and *Newfoundland*, and to give them all reasonable Encouragement to prosecute the Herring Fishing, that Corner Stone (if I may so call it) of the *Dutch* Wealth and Grandeur.

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This is a Business in which we our selves must ever be unsuccessful, notwithstanding the many Arguments of late advanced, by a certain ingenious Gentleman, to prove, that we can on our own Bottom recover it from the *Dutch* and *French*, for tho' as he says very truly, Fish is taken out of the Sea, and no Money issues to buy it, yet whilst the taking of Fish out of the Sea is more Expensive to particular *English* Undertakers than to *Dutch*, so long will they be able to undersel us at foreign Markets, but if the *Irish*, who could be put in a Way to Build, Man and Victual so much cheaper than they, and whose Situation and Harbours are so much more commodious than theirs, had once betaken themselves to that Business, they would every where undersel them, and

in a few Years make that Employment of so little Account to Foreigners, that they would (as we have often been forced to do) give up and neglect it, and leave all the Profit of that gainful Trade to us and our Dependencies.

Fourthly, To encourage the *Irish* to trade to the Coasts of *Affrick*, where we are so much out-numbered in Settlements by Strangers, and in the Produce of which we are so shamefully underfold at foreign Markets, for if the *Irish* had once betaken themselves to that Trade, they would quickly recover it from the *Dutch*, the *French*, the *Hambourghers* and the *Danes*, and so considerable an Addition to our Trade with those Parts, would not only encrease our general Wealth, but greatly add also to
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the Riches and Power of the Royal *Afffrican* Company, by the Addition of 10 *l. per Cent.* Duty on such extraordinary Quantities of exported and imported Commodities as it would occasion.

Fifthly, To give the *Turkey* Company leave to buy up, and export to the *Levant*, directly from *Ireland*, such Woollen Cloaths as the *French* sell in *Turkey*, and as we, by reason of the excessive Price of our Labour, cannot afford cheap enough to undersel them, in order if possible to recover from them that Branch of the *Turkey* Trade, which by the great Number of Consumers is so much better than that which we are at present possessed of.

I am sensible that it may be ob-
jected

jected to this, that the Scarcity of Wooll, which the Exportation of such Cloaths from *Ireland* would occasion here, might inhance the Price of those finer Pieces, which we at present send to *Turkey*; and by that Means endanger that Branch of our own Trade; but the Remedy is in our own Hands, for if we change our Management a little, and bury our Dead in home-spun Linnen, it will at once spare from our Consumption of Wooll enough to supply that Scarcity, and save *England* the Expence of so much as we bury annually in the Ground.

Lastly, To encourage the Inter-course and Correspondence between the two Nations, by an equal Dispensation of the Laws, and a more favourable Reception of those who come over; thereby to draw to a
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Settlement here greater Numbers of the Men of Fortune of that Kingdom, and by that Means to encrease our Drafts upon them for the Support of their Outliers amongst us, an Article which by proper Managements, might be made to drain away most Part of their general Gain by Trade.

Many other Ways might be shewn to encrease the Trade of *Ireland*, without ~~damaging~~ our own, and to ~~make the Wealth~~ of that Country ~~more useful to us~~, but I have already exceeded the Limits which I ~~first~~ ~~prescribed~~ to myself, and I ~~shall~~ therefore leave them to more accurate Observers, submitting always in what I advance to the Judgment of the Publick, for whose Welfare alone I have ventured to expose to the World

World Notions so universally exploded and condemned.

F I N I S.



REPLY

SEASONABLE REMARKS

By the Author of the "Seasonable Remarks" &c.

